2: Carce S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1
Tadiks
Kent Turks

Khan, and Soviet publicists, of design or in ignorance, have sought for this reason to affirm that they are not Muslims. There is also a tendency to play up their Persian speech as a counter to Turkish nationalism, and we find all the great Persian poets, even Saadi and Hafiz of far-away Shiraz, figuring in Soviet history as honorary Tajiks. As fighters the Turkish stocks hold the Tajiks in derision, and the annals of the Basmachi period have an amusing description[1] of a Tajik detachment which turned out in support of Enver Pasha:

> They were followers of the Sheikhs and Mullahs, well-fed and fat and quite useless for fighting. They wore large wooden clogs with soles two inches thick, had carpets on their saddles, and tea-kettles hanging from them. When they started to run in battle, all this naturally fell off.

Here is the inspiration for the White Knight of Lewis Carroll.

Most of the townsmen and many of the settled cultivators south of the Tienshan speak both a Turkic tongue and the Tajik form of Persian. Togan[2] calls them Kent-Turks or Town-Turks, and is inclined to claim them as being of pure Turkish stock, unmixed with Iranian blood or influence. This insistence is odd and hard to reconcile with the fact of the long-established Persian influence in Transoxiana. Moreover, he himself is constrained to attribute the fanatical attitudes of the town-bred *ulema* to Persian influences, and to note their physical resemblance — strong growth of beard and so on — to the Persian and Afghan people farther south. He observes that the new Russian ethnical division of his Türkili has caused the settled Turks to call themselves Uzbeks, and here perhaps is the key to his case.

> Possibly it is they [he writes] who cling most passionately to the name. They who once regarded the Uzbeks as barbarians, now take an interest in the literature of the Uzbek tribe which is replacing the too subtle legends of Persia. It may be that the language of the real Uzbeks will impress itself on the Iranized Kent dialect,[3] and the genuinely Uzbek qualities come to life again.

[1] Togan, *op. cit.* p. 440. [2] *Op. cit.* p. 48 *et seq.*

[3] Long association with Persian has caused the Uzbek spoken in Bukhara and Samarkand to lose the vowel harmonies, and debased the gerund and participial constructions characteristic of all genuine Turkic languages.

2: Caroe S-4 (no date) 1953 RL1 Soviet Central Asia RL1
Kazak

beyond unravelling by a Western hand, but their physique suggests that they retain a larger infusion of Mongol,[1] or, more particularly, Kalmuck, blood than the clans which entered the oases. There is, moreover, a wide distinction between the languages of the steppe and those of the settled regions. Attempts are now being made to study how far a common lingua franca could be developed, based perhaps on the old Chaghatai, but Soviet pressure bears hardly on such efforts and it remains to be seen how far in practice a reconciliation of language can be achieved or would be welcomed by the people themselves.

The Kazaks fought under famous Khans in their struggle against Russian domination, but these Khans were only leaders in the steppe; they never ruled in Turkistan as did the Uzbeks. In their own country they were like the Oghuz, who came from the same stock: '*Ce furent précisément ces tribus qui ne réussirent jamais à s'unifier pour former une unité politique, qui fondèrent les empires turcs les plus puissants*'.[2] But these empires were beyond Central Asia: those who remained and came to be called Kazaks had but a loose tribal organization. Togan writes of them:[3]

> The Russians used to try to persuade themselves that the Kazaks had never really embraced Islam, and it was thought that for this reason anti-God propaganda would succeed among them. The hope has not been realized.

and again of the good and bad features of their tradition:

> A cool head and dislike of haste or excitement, moderation, courage, delight in command, ruthlessness in battle but respect for conditions of a truce, sparing but selling prisoners — a simple mind but not so simple as to be exploited by the foe — encouragement of the blood-feud between individuals, families and even tribes — and the custom of selling children in times of stress.

Schuyler,[4] writing in 1876, has a pleasing picture of an Uzbek of the old régime, Jüre Beg, once Governor of the

[1] For a succinct definition of Mongol tribal subdivisions, ancient and modern, see Howorth (Bib. I, 44), i, 557. Today the main groups are *Khalkha*, *Oriat*, *Buriat* and *Kalmuck*.

[2] Barthold, op. cit. p. 81.

[3] Togan, *op. cit.* p. 534.

[4] *Op. cit.* i, 85.

175 persons speak of paper from Samarkand as the best in the world for artistic purposes and for calligraphy. The blue-glazed domes and mosques of Samarkand with their glittering
361 faience tiles (see ill. adjoining) are unsurpassed anywhere in the world. To this day the town has remained an important centre of culture. In modern times Andishan, Khokand, and Khojent, as centres of the cotton-trade (see ill. page 1438), became not only wealthy towns, but places of extravagant luxury in the European sense of the word. Bokhara, the object of many wars in the course of its history, was from the middle of the eighteenth century onward the residence of the Emirs of Bokhara; Tashkent and Askhabad were the seats of the Russian administration, in these towns the Russian quarters surpassed the Mohammedan
[439] in size and importance. At the present time the country's commerce with India and China is practically at a standstill, so that prosperity
[177] has greatly declined. Though Western civilization has made progress, modernization has not come up to expectations, a fact scarcely surprising in view of the extreme conservatism prevailing among the Islamic population of Central Asia.

184 The checkered history of Turkestan led to
619 the development of a great number of different tribes that are found both in town and country and whose manifold ethnological differences

2 [See cat 116, p 18--Analyst]

2 [See cat 116, p 18--Analyst]

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The dome of the Mosque of Shir Dar in Samarkand. Built in 1616.

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find expression in habits and customs, dress and textiles. This is particularly the case where Western Turkestan is concerned (see ill. page 1451). The richness of the country attracted many invaders, all of whom have left their mark on the country and its population. In an-

[See cat. 116, p 52--Analyst]

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Customs of the Settled Population of Turkestan

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The wealthier portion of the population of Turkestan, the merchants, tradesmen, artisans, and peasants, live in the towns and the villages of the fertile areas. They differ considerably in culture, dress, and customs from the nomads who range the deserts. It is usual to distinguish between three different domiciled groups, the Tajiks, Uzbegs, and the Sarts.

Of these three groups the Tajiks are the most interesting. They number about 1,200,000, and live in the southern part of the former emirate of Bokhara, which now forms an autonomous republic within the Soviet Union under the name of Tajikistan. They are above all a mountain people, and are at the same time skilled agriculturists. As their language has preserved Iranian elements, it may be assumed that they are a remnant of the original population of the country, which retreated before the invasion of the Turks.

The Uzbegs, about two-million souls, form the majority of the agricultural population. They live in the heart of the fertile areas round about Samarkand, Bokhara, and Khiva. They appear to have originated in an army formed by Uzbeg Khan in the 14th century, which was made up of men who were willing to renounce the shamanistic customs which persisted and still persist throughout the country,

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View of the courtyards of Mohammedan houses in Samarkand. In the background the ruins of the great mosque built by Timur between 1398–1405.

162 and to profess a pure form of Islam. For that
● 619 reason the Uzbegs contain all the elements of
184 the Turkestan population, Arab, Turkish, and Tajik.

The two million Sarts who in the main make up the municipal population of Western Turkestan are even more of a racial mixture than the Uzbegs. That is not surprising considering the fact that the cities of Turkestan have always been great trading centres of international character. Nowadays, the differ-

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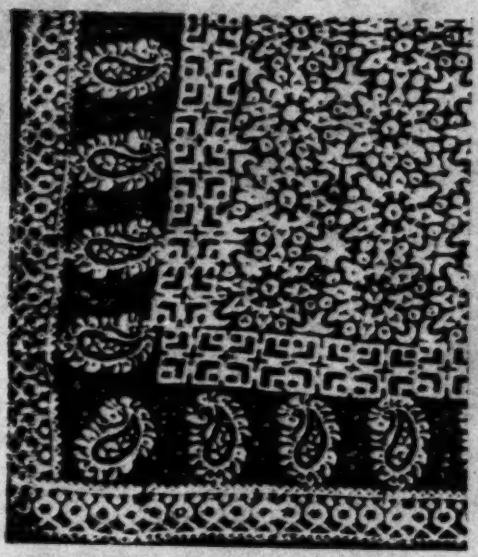

Part of a waist-cloth of Bokhara. In addition to other motives the cashmere palmette is seen. Printed silk fabric.

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ence between Sarts and Uzbegs may be regarded as obliterated. Fifteen years ago the name Sart was officially given up; since then the people who formerly bore that name have been known as Uzbegs, and the most important republic in Western Turkestan is called Uzbegistan.

In Eastern Turkestan these three peoples are represented by a few merchants only, parti-

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cularly in Kashgar, the first town on the other side of the border. The domiciled population there is made up of the so-called Turki people, more or less pure-blooded East Turks, who also profess the Mohammedan faith. As both Turkestans are provinces of countries of different race, the influence of ethnologically unrelated foreigners is strong: Russian influence in Western Turkestan and that of the Chinese in Eastern Turkestan. These foreigners hold the more important government positions, and also engage in commerce, particularly in the export trade.

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The houses of the people of Turkestan show the same character everywhere. They are cubic structures, built of sun-dried brick round open courts, and shut off from the street (see ill. page 1441).[1]

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The dress of the groups mentioned above is also essentially similar. In all Islamic countries dress is governed by the same law, so that the same elements and even the same fabrics are found again and again. Needless to say, the profession of the wearer and his financial status result in differences, particularly in the quality and embellishment of the material. The various districts also show certain peculiarities of dress which make it possible to determine the part of the country from which the wearer comes. In all these cases, however, the differences are no more than variations of the same elementary forms.

The leg-wear of the men consists of white

1 [See cat. 116, p 24.--Analyst]
2 [Tajiks, Uzbegs, Sarts--Analyst]

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The Nomads of Turkestan and their Dress

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The picture presented by Turkestan and its peoples is very varied indeed; deserts, fertile country, and towns are areas clearly distinct from each other, each of which imposes different modes of life on its inhabitants. Such distinctions are found all over the world; they may be observed in Egypt, Arabia, and elsewhere. In Turkestan, however, they are the more striking as the inhabitants of these zones not only represent different stages of cultural advancement, but separate peoples and tribes, which differ markedly from each other in appearance, customs, and dress. Even nomad tribes, whose mode of life is essentially similar, have distinctive characteristics which vary with the nature of the districts which they range.

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In Western Turkestan there are two principal nomad tribes, the Kirghiz and the Turkomans. The Kirghiz are made up of two main groups, the Kirghiz Kasaks and the Kara Kirghiz. The Kirghiz Kasaks are by far the more numerous of the two tribes; they number about 1,600,000 souls, and form four groups (orda, hord). They roam through the Kizil Kum Desert in Western Turkestan between Tashkent and Khiva; they are scattered over a wide area, and have even encroached on the lands of the Turkoman tribes. Isolated groups are found all over the country. The majority of the Kirghiz Kasaks wander through the so-called Kirghiz Steppes which extend north-

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ward from the border of Turkestan almost to the Volga. The Kara Kirghiz, who number about 540,000 in all, are native to Turkestan. Most of them live on the inclement slopes of the Tien Shan Mountains.

[588] The differences in the character of these two Kirghiz tribes find expression in many details. The itinerant minstrels who wander from camp to camp of the Kara Kirghiz recite for the most part epic poems of heroic character, in which the glorious past and the great men of bygone days are praised. On the other hand the poetry of the Kirghiz Kasaks, who range the wide plains, consists mainly of romantic lays and love songs.

[144] In spite of these differences both are hardy nomad peoples, insensible to heat and cold, hunger and thirst. They have retained the Turco-Mongol type comparatively purely, and are of sturdy build. Their obliquely set eyes, high cheek-bones, and sparse growth of beard proclaim them as genuine Mongols. The well-known Mongolian spot (a blue blotch on the skin of the lower part of the back) has been observed in their children up to the age of two years.

The Turkomans number about 700,000 in all, they roam the western part of the country between the Persian frontier and the Aral Sea. The finest types are found among the Tekke Turkomans, a group comprising

4:Leix U-5 (no date)1941 RL1 Turkestan RL1

162 about 3,000 tents, and having its centre in the
619 oasis of Merv. To the South of them the Salors and Saryks extend their wanderings into Afghan territory, whilst the Yomuds, the northermost of the Turkoman tribes, who number about 4,800 tents, live in the vicinity of [181] Khiva. Anyone who has ever taken refuge in a Turkoman tent during the heat of the day knows how hospitable, frank, and trustworthy the people are. They are of a decidedly warlike character. Until after the middle of 567 the nineteenth century, when the Russians put 579 a stop to their activities, they were the most redoubtable caravan robbers in all Turkestan, and had, moreover, a pronounced bent towards kidnapping and the slave trade. They extended their raids far into Persia, seizing what prisoners they could. The wealthier of these were released after the extortion of as large a ransom as possible, the remainder being sold into slavery. The extent of this traffic may be gathered from the fact that when the Russians conquered Khiva in 1864 they freed 40,000 slaves who had been seized by the Turkomans and sold there.

144 The Turkomans are a tall, well-built, and vigorous race with an abundant growth of beard, large eyes, and brown, not yellow, skin. The women, too, are tall and slender; they are among the most beautiful in Asia. The tribe is much farther removed from the Mongol type than are the Kirghiz. The reason for this may be that the Turkomans live so close to the Iranian frontier, and that they have for centuries been in close contact with Iranian Tribes.

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5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RL1 Turkestan RL1

herding with agriculture. Both these factors caused a rapid decline in nomadism in Central Asia in the latter half of the 19th century, under Russian rule. In 1926 (i.e., on the eve of collectivization) in Kazakhstan — the main area of nomadism — 26 percent of all the Kazakh families were fully settled, 66 percent practiced nomadism in the summers (transhumance), and only the remaining 6 percent to 8 percent were nomadic the year around. Of the major group, i.e., those practicing summer nomadism, more than two-thirds moved within a 25-kilometer radius of their winter quarters.[13] Soviet collectivization thus completed a process of settlement that was already well on its way, and given another few decades might have been accomplished quite naturally. A by-product of settlement is the decline of the tribe as a unit of social organization, and with it the disappearance of the tribal divisions and feuds which in the past have constituted one of the most serious deterrents to the development of a national consciousness among the Central Asian natives. The natives of the steppe and desert chafe greatly under the severe limitations imposed upon their movement by the Soviet regime, and, given freedom, would probably like to return at least in part to some form of nomadism; nevertheless, the tribal structure is probably destroyed beyond repair. This fact greatly strengthens the development of modern nationalism.

Thus, despite the considerable Russian influx into Central Asia, the Muslims living there appear to maintain their ethnic distinctiveness. This is thanks both to the character of Russian settlement, which leads to the establishment of Russian centers *side by side* rather than *among* the natives, and to the wide cultural gap, which hinders intermarriage and more intimate social contact. Indeed, it may be said that Russian migration and Soviet policies have rather contributed to the development of national consciousness, first by exposing all natives to contact with representatives of an alien culture and thus forcing them to question their own status, and secondly by helping to destroy — through settlement — the tribal divisions which had always been a most formidable obstacle to native unity vis-à-vis the foreigner.

THE INTELLIGENTSIA

An important factor in the transformation of an ethnic group into a full-fledged nation with a developed sense of national consciousness is an articulate class with sufficient education and experience to provide the population with intellectual leadership. In societies which have only recently begun to undergo such a transformation, this function is usually assumed by what the Russians call "intelligentsia" — a class composed of individuals of diverse social background whom a common middle or higher education, qualifying it for professional or white-collar work, turns into a new social estate.

[13] *Io let Kazakhstana*, pp. 82–83.